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boundaries reflect the compromises of European imperialism, not the interests or desires of the local people. A reflection of this fact is to be found in the confusion which has been created by the use of the term Middle East for what was formerly known as the Near East. The Anglo-French understanding between the wars allocated the sea command in the Mediterranean to the British in case of war, but left the Near East military command in French hands. By the time that the British had built up their forces in North Africa, France had capitulated to the Nazis; but de Gaulle claimed the Near East command for the Free French movement. It was clearly impossible to put the vast armies of North Africa, as well as the reserves building up in Iraq and Iran under his control. Political difficulty was avoided by honouring the agreement in the sense of naming General Catroux to the Near East command, so that it was his task to gain control over the Vichy forces in Syria and Lebanon. All the other forces became the Middle East Command, with its accompanying supply centers, etc. It is doubtful whether the confusion between Near and Middle East will ever be straightened out again.

4. "It is important to stress this fact that the present political instability of the Arab states is in large part the result of their artificial boundaries which were created as compromises among the interested European powers. It is very doubtful that these boundaries will remain unchanged. It is almost impossible to create local patriotisms but there is a deep underlying Arab unity. Nationalism which transcends feudal loyalties to tribal sheikhs, is Arab, not Lebanese or Syrian or Iranian or Saudi. Lebanon, with its large Christian minority, is almost an exception. Many Moslems are conscious of the need for shielding this minority, not just for Lebanon but for the whole Arab world. There is some nascent patriotism in Lebanon, therefore, born of toleration. Elsewhere the boundaries are meaningless. Those who plan institutions for the future ought not to count upon existing governments, but only upon the people. No one can foresee how the Arab world will be organized a generation hence. There is force in the argument that the most effective impulses to unified action are likely to come, not from the presently cooperative and westernized groups whose training was received from former governing powers; but from a resurgent Arabism sweeping again out of the desert. The British policy which set up scions of the Sharifian family as rulers in Jiddah, Baghdad, and Amman was a travesty of Lawrence's vision of a unified Arab territory under Faisal's leadership. The subsequent rise of Ibn Saud in the Arab heartland is an indication of the vitality that lies in a disciplined and deeply religious people, given clear goals and determined leadership. The oil partnership between Ibn Saud and Aramco is now creating a new industrial Arabia which must in future years be a disturbing force all over the Arab world. It is to developments of this type that policy-planners should pay heed rather than to the petty politics of existing states.
5. "Clearly a working party sent out by a US institution could not ignore existing governments. As other reports have shown, it was necessary to clear both with US officials and also with local governments. In some cases it was obviously right to recommend support of national government projects. Where the work pioneered by foreign missionary and educational institutions is now being effectively replaced by national agencies it would be wrong to perpetuate the foreign work. Responsibility must pass eventually to the people of these countries. The foreign institutions still have useful services to perform, even in Turkey, and should be supported so that they can discharge those services effectively. But at the same time encouragement should be given to the national institutions which are beginning to take responsibility.
6. "Lebanon is a special case. It has by far the most developed educational institutions in the Middle East and should be regarded as the intellectual, as well as the commercial, center of the Near East. At least this is true in the sense that western scientific education is most highly developed in Lebanon. There is also a freer intellectual atmosphere there. Egypt and Iran claim to be more advanced civilizations; Arabia is more devoted to Islam; Syria, Jordan and Iraq have traditions of Arab culture; Turkey has broken with the past and is reaching out to Western science. But in all of these countries the state is supreme and there is little freedom of initiative. In none of them are there institutions of Western learning as old and as well-established as those in Lebanon.

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7. "In part the special position of Lebanon is due to the tolerance engendered by a delicate balance between Christian and Moslem. No census has been taken for some time partly because everyone fears that a count might disclose that the balance has been disturbed. The reluctance to absorb about 125,000 Moslem refugees in a population estimated at ten times that number is due to the same fear. Representation is by sect and government office is apportioned in the same way. The law of the land does not run in regard to important questions as marriage, and only studied tolerance, amounting almost to evasion of crucial issues, enables government to function at all. We were advised that the present ministry is likely soon to fall, that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the prevailing graft and inefficiency, that any attempt to pay calls on Ministers would inevitably result in distorted publicity, while, on the contrary, direct contacts with educational institutions would not involve them in difficulties.
8. "It is clear that a showdown must come in which Point Four officials make it clear that their work is to advise and assist, but not to relieve government of its responsibilities. There has been too much publicity and exaggerated expectations have been built up.
9. "One further point came up during a courtesy visit to the University of St. Joseph in Beirut. This is a large and in many respects an efficient institution including elementary, secondary, college and university work, a fine library, especially on Arab archaeology, linguistics and literature, together with the finest printing press in the region. The latter is run on commercial lines. There are schools of medicine and of law and there can be no doubt that St. Joseph's has exerted a considerable cultural influence in Lebanon and Syria. That influence is French not only in the sense of spreading knowledge of the French language, but also in the sense of providing facilities and opportunities for French government policy. The schools are part of the French state system, examined by visiting inspectors sent by the Ministry of Education at Paris, the university degrees are similarly awarded, and the university is in receipt of substantial funds from the French government.
10. "Other institutions, while American Protestant in their origins, cannot be said to be agencies of US policy in the sense in which St. Joseph's is clearly an agency of French policy. In particular, they do not receive funds from, or have any connection with, the public educational system of the US. Moreover, they function as regional rather than local institutions. Their student body is recruited from the Sudan to Saudi Arabia. Their graduates are to be found in responsible positions throughout the Arab world."

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